

Arafat Investigated Transcript 9 Nov. 03

MOONSTONE FILMS

CORRESPONDENT

ARAFAT INVESTIGATED

TITLE SEQUENCE

59:57

00:00

MUSIC

TITLE:

'CORRESPONDENT'

00:06

ARCHIVE: SLO-MO MS ARAFAT

**SLO-MO MEDICS ATTENDING SUICIDE
BOMB VICTIM**

00:10

00:11

00:12

PRESIDENT BUSH V/O

**Mr Arafat has failed
as a leader.**

MS ISRAELI TANKS DRIVES L-R

**MS ARAB WOMEN AT GRAVESIDE, PAN
TO GRAVES**

**MS PARADE OF WOULD-BE SUICIDE
BOMBERS, EXPLOSIVES STRAPPED
AROUND WAISTS**

00:14

00:17

00:20

PRESIDENT BUSH V/O

**If the Palestinian people want peace
they must have leadership that is
absolutely**

100% committed to fighting off terror

**L/A WS ARAFAT GIVES VICTORY
SIGNAL FROM WINDOW**

**MS ARMS OF MAN IN CROWD
SIGNALLING BACK**

00:24

00:25

00:33

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COMM

Yasser Arafat, once a regular visitor to the White House, has been put into isolation by President Bush and Ariel Sharon, Israel's prime minister. Are they right to blame him for three years of killing?

00:39

EYAD SARRAJ V/O
Arafat knows -

MS EYAD SARRAJ, I/V SYNC

00:40

EYAD SARRAJ
- that military we cannot win over the Israelis.

ARCHIVE: SLO-MO MS ARAFAT RAISES ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI'S ARM ALOFT

SLO-MO WS ARMED PALESTINIANS IN STREET

00:43

00:49

EYAD SARRAJ V/O
But he, I think believes, that by using armed struggle that he could squeeze the Israelis into making peace

SLO-MO MS ISRAELI CARRYING INJURED GIRL

00:53

00:54

EHUT OLMERT V/O
don't tell me that we are ignoring their leader.

MS EHUT OLMERT, I/V SYNC

FADE TO BLACK

00:57

EHUT OLMERT
We are ignoring a terrorist killer.

ARCHIVE: MS ARAFAT GIVING VICTORY SALUTE
FREEZE FRAME & TITLE SUPERED: 'ARAFAT INVESTIGATED'

01:00

01:02

EXT. DAY: L/A WS BOWEN'S ARMoured PRESS CAR DRIVES TOWARD CAMERA

01:07

MS BOWEN DRIVING, TO CAMERA

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**CAPTION SUPERED:
'JEREMY BOWEN'**

01:15

01:16

JEREMY BOWEN

I've been covering the Middle East since 1990. I was based in Jerusalem for five years as the BBC's Middle East correspondent. All that time one of the fixed points has always been Yasser Arafat. For getting on for four decades, he's been the leader of the Palestinians. I've come back to see why Sharon and Bush want to replace him. And to see how well they're doing.

**L/A WS BOWEN'S CAR APPROACHES &
PASSES CAMERA**

01:39

**GVs ARMED GUARDS AT CHECKPOINT
CHECKING DOCUMENTS ETC**

01:42

01:43

MUSIC

01:45

01:53

COMM

You can't drive more than a few miles in the West Bank without running into an Israeli army checkpoint.

COMM

Most Palestinians, most of the time, can't leave their towns and villages.

**MCU ISRAELI FLAG SEEN THRU
WINDOW OF ARMoured CAR**

01:58

**MS BOWEN DRIVING, VIEW OF ROAD
AHEAD THRU WINDSCREEN**

BCU BOWEN, PROFILE

02:01

02:02

02:06

COMM

It's simpler for journalists – though we travelled in a bullet proof vehicle. In the occupied territories it's easy to be in the wrong place at the wrong time.

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**WS TRACK PAST RAMALLAH ROAD
SIGH**

**TRACKING SHOTS OF RAMALLAH
STREETS**

02:10

02:12

02:14

COMM

This was Ramallah, the town where
Yasser Arafat
is confined. I drove in just after suicide
bombers had killed 15 Israelis.

MS SHUTTERED UP SHOP

**CU PADLOCK
WS SHUTTERED SHOPS
MCU PADLOCK FASTENED**

02:22

02:24

02:26

02:29

COMM

Shopkeepers were locking up early.
Everyone was expecting more
Israeli reprisals – the question
was what they'd do.

**CU SHOPKEEPER, I/V SYNC
CAPTION SUPERED:
'HANI ABU SHRIEF'**

02::31

02:33

HANI ABU SHRIEF (translation)
I am afraid the army will come back
again and do what they did before. This
way we'll be ready to shut down to avoid
any danger to the shop.

O/S WS HANI ABU SHRIEF

02:43

02:44

BOWEN

What – what is
the expectation of people in Ramallah at
the moment?

BCU HANI ABU SHRIEF

02:46

02:48

HANI ABU SHRIEF (translation)
Everyone expects a full invasion tonight,
especially at the President's headquarters.

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**TRACKING SHOTS PAST BLASTED &
BATTERED BUILDINGS OF ARAFAT'S
COMPOUND**

02:57

02:59

COMM

**On the edge of Ramallah's town centre is
Yasser Arafat's West Bank headquarters.
For 18 months this has been his world.**

**WS GUARD SLUMPED IN CHAIR BY
RUINED GATEWAY**

03:07

MUSIC

WS SHATTERED BUILDING

**WS PILE OF BURNT-OUT CARS
WS BOWEN, PAN R WITH HIM**

03:10

03:12

03:13

03:15

COMM

**Most of it has been blown up
or bulldozed during Israeli incursions.
Arafat doesn't leave in case the Israelis
don't allow him back.**

**MS TATTERED ARAFAT POSTERS ON
WALL**

**MS MAN LOOKING OUT OF WINDOW
THRU BINOCULARS**

03:20

03:21

03:23

COMM

**But even though Arafat is isolated,
he's not alone. He can't go out, so people
come to him.**

**WS PRO-ARAFAT DEMONSTRATORS
WITH BANNERS**

GVs DEMONSTRATORS WITH FLAGS

03:26

03:29

03:30

CHANTING

COMM

**Arafat's people call him
Abu Ammar – father of the builder. It's a
name he took on when he was a young
man.**

L/A LS ARAFAT WAVES FROM UPPER

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WINDOW

03:36

CHANTING (subtitles)

Give us weapons, Abu 'Ammar

**MS DEMONSTRATOR CHANTING INTO
LOUDHAILER**

03:40

The Zionists will be set alight

CU MAN CHANTING

03:44

Yasser (obscured) Yasser

03:48

He's the symbol of the people

BCU BOWEN WATCHING

CU MAN IN YELLOW HEADSCARF

03:52

03:56

COMM

**Arafat is confined here because Israel,
and the Americans, say he is
responsible for the violence – especially
the suicide bombings.**

**L/A MS ARAFAT LEADING CHANT
FROM UPPER WINDOW**

04:00

CHANTING (subtitles)

**We were born to carry
machine guns**

CU MAN HOLDS UP ARAFAT POSTER

04:04

**We pledge ourselves to the cause
WS JEEP APPROACHES, CAMERAN
EMERGES FROM SIDESTREET**

04:08

ISRAELI PLANE FLYING OVERHEAD

04:12

MS JEREMY BOWEN TO CAMERA

04:17

JEREMY BOWEN

**The Israelis have raided Ramallah today.
Their jeeps have been cruising past the
gates of the compound. Their tanks are
never more than a mile or so away.
Everybody here is expecting trouble –
maybe big trouble.**

ISRAELI JET FLYING OVERHEAD

04:30

GVs RUBBLE BEING CLEARED

04:43

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04:37

COMM

As the Palestinians rearranged the rubble, the Israelis did not, after all, send in the troops. Instead the Israeli cabinet decided to exile Arafat. That's still a step too far for the Americans, so no date was set.

**EXT. EVE: WS RAMALLAH STREET AT DUSK
FADE TO**

04:51

MUSIC

**H/A PANORAMIC SHOT OF
COUNTYSIDE, HIGHWAY IN R F/G**

04:55

**EXT. NIGHT: WS COLUMN OF TRAFFIC
IN JAM ON HIGHWAY**

04:59

**WS MAN STANDING BY CAR DOOR
LOOKING AT TRAFFIC AHEAD**

05:00

05:03

COMM

It was slow getting back to Jerusalem that night. Israel, like the Palestinians, was expecting more violence.

**MS JEREMY BOWEN AT ROADSIDE, TO
CAMERA**

05:07

JEREMY BOWEN

It looks as if the police have had another warning about suicide bombers trying to get into Jerusalem. This is one of the main highways into the city. A roadblock has been set up about a mile that way. It's jammed solid.

**GVS PALESTINIANS HAVING PAPERS &
VEHICLES CHECKED AT ROADBLOCK**

05:21

H/A WS TRAFFIC JAM

05:22

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05:37

COMM

Palestinians using the roads are automatically suspects. Israel insists all its actions are in self defence. Its overwhelmingly strong security forces control the roads, the sea and the sky – but it holds Yasser Arafat responsible when the bombers get through.

ARCHIVE: SLO-MO AFTERMATH OF SUICIDE BOMBING, INJURED HELPED TO AMBULANCES ETC

05:42

MUSIC

CAPTION: [OBSCURED]

05:47

05:48

COMM

This bomb, these killings – and more of the same in Tel Aviv – led directly to the order for Arafat's expulsion.

**MS BLOODSTAINED ROAD
FADE TO**

05:56

**STILL: DAVID APPLEBAUM &
DAUGHTER Z/I TO BCU**

06:01

06:03

COMM

Among the dead in Jerusalem were Dr David Applebaum and his daughter Nava.

**MS JEREMY BOWEN OUTSIDE
APPLEBAUM'S HOUSE, TO CAMERA**

06:09

JEREMY BOWEN

The Applebaum family home is just there – it's about a mile from, where David and Nava Applebaum were killed. The Jewish tradition is that for about a week after people die, the family receive condolence visits from friends and relations. I'm just going up there now.

MCU WOMAN ENTERING HOUSE

06:28

CU PHOTO ALBUM IN HANDS

06:30

STILL: CU DAVID APPLEBAUM

06:33

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FADE TO

06:34

COMM

David Applebaum, originally from the United States, was a well-known local doctor.

STILL: APPLEBAUM LOOKING AT X-RAY

06:38

06:39

NATAN APPLEBAUM V/O

My dad spent his life helping others. He was a doctor -

MCU NATAN APPLEBAUM, I/V SYNC

CAPTION SUPERED:

'NATAN APPLEBAUM'

06:44

06:46

NATAN APPLEBAUM

- in various hospitals, on the ambulances. He was the first one at many terrorist attacks. He saved thousands and thousands of lives.

WS PEOPLE ENTERING HOUSE TO OFFER CONDOLENCES

06:53

CU MAN

06:54

06:57

NATAN APPLEBAUM V/O

He was - he was in the States, he came back Tuesday morning. Tuesday night he was killed.

STILL: NAVA IN WEDDING DRESS

07:00

COMM

Nava Applebaum and her father were killed on the night before her wedding.

07:05

NATAN APPLEBAUM V/O

My sister's hopes were -

MCU NATAN APPLEBAUM, I/V SYNC

07:06

NATAN APPLEBAUM

- to get married and start - start her - her family and continue living here.

CU PHOTO ALBUM, TILT UP TO MAN LOOKING AT IT

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BCU GIRL

07:12

07:21

NATAN APPLEBAUM V/O

Everybody was home having last preparations people were hungry so they decided to go get some takeaway and he purposely went with her so he could have a chat with her.

GVs RELATIONS, FRIENDS CHATTING

07:23

07:24

NATAN APPLEBAUM V/O

The terrorists need to be eradicated.

07:24

JEREMY BOWEN V/O

Would you like to see Yasser Arafat expelled?

CU NATAN APPLEBAUM, I/V SYNC

07:28

NATAN APPLEBAUM

Getting rid of Arafat will not solve our problems, but he is definitely one of the people that need to be taken out.

**B/W ARCHIVE: SLO-MO MCU ARAFAT
WAVING & HOLDING MICROPHONE
FREEZE FRAME & FADE TO**

07:30

07:39

MUSIC

**EXT. DAY: TRACKING SHOTS OF
COUNTRYSIDE & ROAD**

07:40

07:43

COMM

To investigate Arafat's links with the people that Israelis consider terrorists we went to Jenin, on the northern part of the West Bank, just across the border from Israel.

MS BOWEN DRIVING, TO CAMERA

07:54

07:57

JEREMY BOWEN

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This is the way into Jenin. There's a real contrast to the lush farmland on the Israeli side.

**TRACKING SHOT OF ROAD BLOCK
AHEAD, Z/I ON TANKS AT SIDE OF
ROAD**

08:03

JEREMY BOWEN V/O

This feels like the entrance to a war zone

**O/S MS SOLDIER OPENS DOOR TO
CHECK BOWEN'S PAPERS**

08:11

JEREMY BOWEN

Shalom ... BBC

WS TANK SEEN THRU WINDSCREEN

08:16

WS OBSERVATION POST

08:17

08:20

COMM

**Israeli forces blockade Jenin – and
every other town on the West Bank.**

**H/A PANORAMIC SHOT OF JENIN &
MOUNTAINS BEYOND**

**TRACKING SHOT OF JENIN STREET,
THRU WINDSCREEN**

08:23

08:24

08:28

COMM

**We went there to look at Arafat's
relationship with the Al
Aqsa Martyrs Brigades.**

**WS TRACK PAST SHOPS & PARKED
CARS**

LS BOY WALKS PAST RUINED HOUSE

08:31

08:35

COMM

**They were frontline Palestinian fighters
when Israel reoccupied Jenin
and the rest of the West Bank last year.**

CU RUBBLE OF WRECKED BUILDING

CU ARAFAT POSTER AMONG RUBBLE

08:38

08:39

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08:42

COMM

And they're also suicide bombers.

STILL: HAIDAR IRSHEID ON MOBILE PHONE

08:45

08:46

COMM

Haidar Irsheid was the governor of Jenin, appointed by Yasser Arafat himself to to represent the Palestinian Authority

RECONSTRUCTION: ABDUCTION OF HAIDAR IRSHEID

08:55

MUSIC

CAPTION SUPERED: 'RECONSTRUCTION'

08:58

09:03

09:19

COMM

In July, men from the Al Aqsa brigades went to his house – and took him away at gunpoint.

COMM

They say he was corrupt – or perhaps it was a convenient way for Arafat to remove him.

EXT. DAY: H/S WS STREET & TRAFFIC IN JENIN

09:24

WS PEOPLE AT CAF TABLES CHATting MS MEN CHATting

09:25

09:28

09:31

COMM

The gunmen took the governor to the centre of Jenin, a crowded place, where plenty of people could see how they dealt with their enemies.

MCU MOHAMMED, I/V SYNC CAPTION SUPERED:

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'MOHAMMED'

09:35

09:37

MOHAMMED (translation)

I rushed outside and saw them throw a man face-down on the ground. They started beating him, opening a wound in his head.

MCU MAJDI SADI, I/V SYNC

CAPTION SUPERED:

'MAJDI SADI'

09:43

09:44

09:46

MAJDI SADI (translation)

They were hitting him with sticks. They said he was the Governor and that he'd embezzled money and was a troublemaker and a gangster.

MCU MOHAMMED, I/V SYNC

10:01

10:03

MOHAMMED (translation)

His mother tried to help him, but she was hit as well.

**RECONSTRUCTION: HAIDAR IRSHEID
BUNDLED INTO CAR & DRIVEN AWAY**

10:07

10:08

MOHAMMED V/O (translation)

Then they drove him away.

10:10

MUSIC

10:12

COMM

It took a personal phone call from Yasser Arafat to get the governor released. He fled to Jordan, denying the allegations against him.

**ARCHIVE: SLO-MO MS MEMBER OF AL
AQSA BRIGADE HOLDING ARAFAT
POSTER**

10:23

10:26

COMM

It's clear that Arafat has a close relationship with the Al Aqsa brigades.

SLO-MO HOODED ARMED MEN

10:30

10:33

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COMM

I wanted to meet them.

**SLO-MO MS PAN L WITH MAN
CARRYING RIFLE**

10:36

**EXT. DAY: CU WHEELS OF BOWEN'S
ARMoured CAR AS IT PULLS UP**

10:40

**MS BOWEN GETS OUT OF CAR, TO
CAMERA**

10:46

**HE TURNS & WALKS AWAY FROM
CAMERA**

10:49

JEREMY BOWEN

The people we're going to see are on Israel's wanted list. Getting this far has taken complicated negotiations, a couple of hours of waiting and a succession of intermediaries. Now it looks as if we've arrived.

**WS BOWEN APPROACHES DOWN
ALLEY**

11:06

**TRACK WITH BOWEN DOWN ALLEY
L/A WS BOWEN ENTERS COURTYARD
& SITS DOWN TO WAIT**

11:07

11:09

11:12

11:17

COMM

Israel has a policy of seeking out and killing men on its wanted list. Finding the kidnappers wasn't easy.

COMM

There was another long wait, in the back yard of a woman whose husband and young son were killed by the Israelis.

**LS ZAKARIA & HIS MEN APPEAR
AROUND CORNER**

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**PAN L AS ZAKARIA & BOWEN SHAKE
HANDS, FOLLOWED BY LIEUTENANTS**

11:24

11:27

11:37

COMM

When they arrived they had a certain swagger.

COMM

Zakaria Zubaidi, leader of Jenin's Al Aqsa brigades, is 27. His lieutenants are barely out of their teens.

MCU GUN, TILT UP TO LIEUTENANT

11:48

COMM

Israel regards them as terrorists. In Jenin they are heroes.

**WS ZAKARIA & LIEUTENANTS SIT TO
TALK TO BOWEN**

11:53

11:54

COMM

When the Israeli army isn't around, the young men who dethroned the governor are in charge.

CU GUN BARREL

12:01

MS ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI, I/V SYNC

CAPTION SUPERED:

'ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI

Leader, Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades

Jenin Refugee Camp'

CU COFFEE CUP IN HAND

MS ZAKARIA A/B

12:05

12:06

12:14

12:17

ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)

We did not kidnap the governor of Jenin. We took him into custody for a few hours. We want the President and the Palestinian Authority to hold him responsible for his actions because he stole money from the people. He also sent two of his thugs to assassinate a member of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades. That's why we took him into custody.

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CU HAND RESTING ON GUN

WS BOWEN & ZAKARIA

MS ZAKARIA

12:29

12:33

12:37

12:38

12:40

JEREMY BOWEN

When you captured the Governor of Jenin, did Yasser Arafat speak to you directly telling you to release him?

ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)

Yes.

JEREMY BOWEN

What did he say?

ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)

We don't question his decisions. They're carried out first, and discussed later.

12:44

MUSIC

**B/W ARCHIVE: SLO-MO ARAFA
GIVING PEACE/VICTORY SIGN TO
CROWD**

12:46

FADE TO

12:48

COMM

Arafat is the man they trust – because of his past and because of what he's going through now.

**LS BOWEN TALKING TO ZAKARIA &
LIEUTENANTS IN COURTYARD**

12:55

12:56

JEREMY BOWEN

How important to you is Yasser Arafat as a leader?

MCU ZAKARIA

12:59

13:00

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ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)
He's important because he's a patriot.

**CU WALLET OPENED TO DISPLAY
PHOTO**

13:04

ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)
This is Yasser Arafat.

13:06

JEREMY BOWEN
This is a picture of Yasser Arafat as a
young man, when he was a fighter, right?

13:11

13:18

ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)
Yasser Arafat with his weapon. All his
life he's been a loyal fighter.

JEREMY BOWEN
With a gun. Yasser Arafat with a
kalashnikov, probably in the late '60s as a
young man.

TILT UP TO ZAKARIA

MS ZAKARIA

13:28

13:31

13:33

ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)
He's a man of peace and war, a man of
resistance.

JEREMY BOWEN
Is that what you want to be like?
Is he your role model?

13:36

ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)
I follow him because he is an honest man.
At the same time he is free and seeks
peace.

MS LIEUTENANT KEEPING LOOK-OUT

13:44

MCU ZAKARIA FIRES GUN

13:47

WS ZAKARIA FIRES GUN AT TREE

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13:50

13:52

COMM

Zubaidi shot at a tree to show off the Israeli army M-16s they've obtained

**MS SMALL BOY WITH PISTOL,
LIEUTENANT GREETES HIM WITH A KISS**

**MS BOY FUSSED OVER BY
LIEUTENANTS, PAN L TO FATAH BOSS**

13:58

14:00

14:03

COMM

Officially Fatah, Arafat's dominant faction in the PLO, is coy about its relationship with the brigades. But Fatah fixed up the interview, which was supervised by the local Fatah boss.

**L/A MS BOWEN TALKING TO ZAKARIA
& FATAH BOSS**

14:16

JEREMY BOWEN

So you're the Chief of Fatah here?

BCU BOWEN

14:22

14:24

14:25

TRANSLATOR

He's the General Secretary of Fatah here

JEREMY BOWEN

So

explain to me, Fatah and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, are they part of the same organisation? Are you separate, are you together, how close are you?

BCU ATA ABU RUMAILEH

CAPTION SUPERED:

'ARA ABU RUMAILEH

**General Secretary of Fatah
Jenin Refugee Camp'**

**CU ZAKARIA'S HAND ON HIS
SHOULDER**

14:34

14:35

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14:36

14:44

ATA ABU RUMAILEH (translation)
Fatah has two sections: a military wing, led by the military and a political wing led by the politicians. But there is no difference between Fatah and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades.

BCU ZAKARIA

14:48

JEREMY BOWEN

Are you his boss or he is your boss?

L/A MS BOWEN, ZAKARIA & RUMAILEH

14:51

14:53

JEREMY BOWEN

One's a politician and one's a soldier?
OK, so who's more important now – the politician or the soldier?

CU LIEUTENANT, TILT DOWN TO SMALL BOY

CU RUMAILEH

14:59

15:01

15:04

ATA ABU RUMAILEH (translation)
During this period of Israeli aggression, the military has the upper hand. We are defending our people and we cannot defend them using speeches and demonstrations.

MS ZAKARIA

BCU RUMAILEH

15:16

15:19

JEREMY BOWEN

And who is in charge of both of these two parts of the organisation, is it Arafat?

15:21

ATA ABU RUMAILEH
Yasser Arafat

BCU BOWEN

BCU RUMAILEH

15:23

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15:26

ATA ABU RUMAILEH (translation)
He's the only leader of the Palestinian people.
We only recognise Arafat as our leader.

15:29

MUSIC
WS ZAKARIA & OTHERS WALK AWAY

15:30

ARCHIVE: SLO-MO MS ARAFAT AT DESK

15:34

15:35

EYAD SARRAJ V/O
Arafat uses violence as a tactical thing.
He, I think, believes -.

MS EYAD SARRAJ, I/V SYNC
CAPTION SUPERED:
'EYAD SARRAJ
Palestinian Independent
Commission for Citizens' Rights'

15:41

15:43

EYAD SARRAJ
- that he could squeeze the Israelis into a position of saying okay, Mr Arafat, we're going to sit at the table. Well, Sharon is the complete opposite -

ARCHIVE: SLO-MO WS SHARON, Z/I AS HE REMOVES SPECTACLES

15:53

EYAD SARRAJ V/O
- of that, and he believes that overwhelming power is the way to make the Palestinians and Arafat completely submit.

MS EYAD SARRAJ, I/V SYNC

16:02

EYAD SARRAJ
Between them there is this tug of war that is causing the harm to everyone else.

ARCHIVE: AFTERMATH OF SUICIDE BOMBING – FIRE & MAN HELPED TO AMBULANCE

16:08

16:11

COMM
The Al Aqsa brigades have carried out 13 suicide attacks during this uprising, killing more than 60 people.

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**ARCHIVE: ARAFAT CONDEMNING
SUICIDE BOMBING. (ITN 3 19-5-2003)**

16:20

ARAFAT

I condemn it completely this terrorist
activity.

**ARCHIVE: AFTERMATH OF SUICIDE
BOMBING**

16:24

**ARCHIVE: ARAFAT CONDEMNING
SUICIDE BOMBING)APTN 19-5-2003
Story Number: 374957]**

16:26

ARAFAT

You know we are against -

**ARCHIVE: AFTERMATH OF SUICIDE
BOMBING**

16:28

ARAFAT V/O

- these suicidal activities

**ARCHIVE: ARAFAT CONDEMNING
TERRORISM EX (APTN 8-12-2001)**

16:33

ARAFAT

Yes I am against terrorism

**ARCHIVE: AFTERMATH OF SUICIDE
BOMBING**

16:35

COMM

The Israelis say his words are lies.

**EXT. DAY: WS WOMEN'S RALLY IN THE
MUKATA**

16:40

CU FLAGS

16:42

CHANTING (subtitles)

To Jerusalem we are heading

CU YOUNG WOMAN IN CROWD

16:46

martyrs by the millions

CU ARAFAT WATCHING RALLY

16:49

MCU CAMERAMAN

**CU ARAFAT HANDED GIRL HOLDING
FLAG**

B/W STILL: DALAL AL MUGHRABI

16:50

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16:53

16:56

16:59

COMM

Israel says that when he speaks to his own people, he shows what he really thinks. Just outside the door of his headquarters, he invoked the memory of Dalal al Mughrabi, widely regarded by Palestinians as a national heroine.

MS BANK OF NEWS CAMERAS AT RALLY

BCU ARAFAT POSTER

17:04

17:05

17:08

ARAFAT (subtitles)

Dalal al Mughrabi...

is the road to victory

MCU ARAFAT LEADING CHANTING

17:11

WOMEN CHANTING (subtitles)

Dalal al Mughrabi
is the road to victory

B/W STILL: DALAL AS ACTIVIST

ARCHIVE: LS BURNING BUS, MARCH 13

1978

17:17

17:18

17:22

COMM

In 1978 Dalal al Mughrabi led a group of Palestinian gunmen who landed on an Israeli beach in rubber dinghies.

**ARCHIVE: AFTERMATH OF ATTACK,
INJURED IN AMBULANCES, COFFINS AT
FUNERAL**

CAPTION SUPERED:

'March 1978'

17:27

ACTUALITY

The 11 terrorists carried with them a combination of sub-machine guns, rockets and mortar grenades. In an orgy of bloodshed on the coastal road, 37 people were killed and 76 injured. It was the worst terrorist incident in the history of Israel.

EXT. DAY: WS WOMEN'S RALLY AT

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THE MUKATA

MCU ARAFAT

17:47

17:49

17:53

COMM

Palestinians deny he's urging the women to emulate Mughrabi. Instead, they say, the chants are symbolic, ritualistic – not a guide to policy.

MS EYAD SARRAJ, I/V SYNC

18:01

EYAD SARRAJ

He believes that leaders have to er, er, er, excite the people in order to lead.

MCU ARAFAT WATCHING WOMEN'S RALLY A/B

O/S LS ARAFAT WATCHING RALLY

18:12

18:19

EYAD SARRAJ V/O

If the Israelis are not going to leave the land by themselves peacefully, with negotiations, the Palestinians will continue to resist. This is the meaning – real meaning.

MS EYAD SARRAJ, I/V SYNC

18:24

EYAD SARRAJ

So Arafat is only translating these sentiments into his short sentences, er, which become like slogans.

MCU ARAFAT WATCHING WOMEN'S RALLY A/B, Z/O TO MS

18:32

EYAD SARRAJ V/O

I think that he doesn't know that leadership doesn't have to be through slogans and excitement.

MS EYAD SARRAJ, I/V SYNC

18:38

EYAD SARRAJ

It can be also through very wise speeches that give the people directions.

L/A WS ARAFAT MAKES PEACE/VICTORY GESTURE FROM WINDOW

18:45

18:46

MUSIC

MS ARMS OF MAN IN CROWD

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SIGNALLING BACK

18:47

**ARCHIVE: INTIFADA, YOUTHS
THROWING STONES, ISRAELI
SOLDIERS OPENING FIRE ETC**

ARCHIVE: PALESTINIAN FUNERAL

**WS HOODED PLO MEN FIRE INTO THE
AIR**

18:48

18:49

18:56

19:05

19:09

COMM

**The intifada started in September 2000
after the collapse of the Camp David
summit**

COMM

**Six years of peace talks to deliver a state
for Palestinians and real security for the
Israelis ended with bloodshed. Every
attempt to revive the
peace process since then failed. Both
sides blame each other.**

**ARCHIVE: WOUNDED ISRAELI SOLDIER
CARRIED TO SAFETY**

ARCHIVE: WS HELICOPTER LANDING

19:12

19:16

COMM

**Early on Israel and the United States tried
to get
Arafat to make a speech calling off the
Intifada.**

**EXT. DAY: LS BOWEN & KALMAN AT
TABLE ON CAF TERRACE**

19:19

19:20

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COMM

Like the other foreign journalists in Jerusalem, Matthew Kalman was waiting to hear it.

MS MATTHEW KALMAN, I/V SYNC

**CAPTION SUPERED:
'MATTHEW KALMAN
Journalist'**

19:26

MATTHEW KALMAN

I think you have to remember that this was before the suicide bombings, it was before the real nasty terrorism.

ARCHIVE: YOUTHS THROWING STONES

19:33

MATTHEW KALMAN V/O

- and at that time it did seem to be containable

MS MATTHEW KALMAN, I/V SYNC

19:38

MATTHEW KALMAN

The plan formulated by the Americans was that the Israeli Prime Minister, Ehud Barak, the Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, would each make a statement at mid afternoon -

**ARCHIVE: ISRAELI SOLDIERS FIRING
TEAR GAS FROM ARMoured CAR &
YOUTHS THROWING STONES WITH
SLINGSHOTS**

19:50

MATTHEW KALMAN V/O

- announcing that the fighting would stop and each side would withdraw. Ehud Barak -

MS MATTHEW KALMAN, I/V SYNC

19:56

MATTHEW KALMAN

- was sitting in his office, with a crew from Israel television and radio, with his statement prepared and they were waiting for confirmation that Yasser Arafat was doing the same with er, his broadcasting people in his office. And the messages kept going backwards and forwards that Arafat wasn't yet ready, that the people weren't yet in place er, and at first it was delayed by an hour, and then by another hour and then it was postponed and then it just disappeared.

WS/2S BOWEN & KALMAN

MS MATTHEW KALMAN

20:28

20:30

JEREMY BOWEN

Afterwards who got the blame?

MATTHEW KALMAN

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The Americans blamed Arafat. Very clearly.

ARCHIVE: YOUTHS THROWING STONES, RUNNING FROM TEAR GAS

20:35

20:37

COMM

But Palestinians don't believe Arafat could have stopped an uprising which had its own dynamic. His speeches reflected Palestinian opinion – they didn't challenge it.

ARCHIVE: MS ARAFAT EMBRACING ARAB LEADER & ADDRESSING DOHA CONFERENCE (EX AL JAZEERA dated 11 NOV 2000)

20:47

20:48

COMM

He played to his audience at home - and either forgot or didn't care that the Americans were listening too.

**CAPTION SUPERED:
'NOVEMBER 2000'**

20:54

20:55

20:58

ARAFAT (subtitles)

Our people are more determined than ever

21:01

to continue our struggle through this just uprising

21:06

whose aim is to express our longing for freedom...

21:12

independence and salvation from the clutches...

ARCHIVE: PALESTINIANS DEMONSTRATING AT FUNERAL

21:17

ARAFAT V/O (subtitles)

of the aggressive Israeli occupation

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MS MOURNING WOMAN BY WALL

21:22

**in all its violent
and destructive forms**

MS WEeping CHILD

21:26

21:29

MUSIC

**ARCHIVE: GVs ISRAELI TANKS IN
STREETS, REOCCUPATION OF WEST
BANK**

21:31

**ARCHIVE: STORMING OF ARAFAT'S
COMPOUND**

21:33

21:45

21:49

COMM

**But Israel worked hard – and successfully
– to identify what it was doing with
America's war on terrorism. In April
2002, Israeli troops reoccupied the west
bank.**

**They stormed Yasser Arafat's compound
in Ramallah,**

COMM

**They claimed to have found documents
proving that Arafat was funding suicide
bombers.**

MCU ARAFAT

21:58

22:00

COMM

**Israel wanted regime change –
and so did its most important friend.**

**ARCHIVE: BUSH SPEECH – (JUNE 24
2002)**

**CAPTION SUPERED:
'JUNE 2002'**

22:04

22:05

PRESIDENT BUSH

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Today Palestinian Authorities are encouraging – not opposing – terrorism. This is unacceptable. Peace requires a new and different Palestinian leadership.

**ARCHIVE: SLO-MO BCU ARAFAT
MOPPING BROW, Z/O TO MS**

22:22

MUSIC

ALI JARBAWI SYNC

22:26

ALI JARBAWI V/O

Well Arafat is Palestine walking on legs.

MS ALI JARBAWI, I/V SYNC

CAPTION SUPERED:

'DR ALI JARBAWI

Professor of Political Science

Birzeit University'

22:29

ALI JARBAWI

He thinks that he symbolises the whole struggle, basically, and he doesn't differentiate between the national interest and his own interest.

**ARCHIVE: MS ARAFAT, HAND TO
MOUTH, Z/I TO CU**

Z/O TO WS

22:38

ALI JARBAWI V/O

Of course, if you are a symbol of Palestinian er, resistance and someone from abroad will tell you, 'we don't want to talk to you and you have to remove your leader,' then it has to backfire. And it did

**EXT. EVE: MOON EMERGES FROM
CLOUDS**

22:53

22:54

MUSIC

RECONSTRUCTION: PALESTINIAN

OPPOSITION MEMBER ARRIVING FOR

SECRET NIGHT TIME MEETING

CAPTION SUPERED:

'RECONSTRUCTION'

22:57

22:59

COMM

Arafat's Palestinian critics – and there have been many of them – sensed this was their chance. What was starting to look like an opposition to Arafat held a series of what they hoped were discrete meetings

STILL: NABIL AMR

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FADE TO

23:11

23:12

COMM

One of them, Nabil Amr, had written an open letter to Arafat criticising his leadership.

RECONSTRUCTION: 2ND OPPOSITION LEADER ARRIVING AT ABU MAZEN'S HOUSE

23:18

23:20

COMM

Some of the meetings were held at the home of a politician seen for many years as a potential successor to Arafat.

STILL: CU ABU MAZEN, Z/I TO BCU

23:28

COMM

He was Abu Mazen and he criticised the way that the intifada had become an armed confrontation with Israel.

ARCHIVE: MS ABU MAZEN, I/V SYNC

(EX AL JAZEERA DATED 25/9/2002)

CAPTION SUPERED:

'SEPTEMBER 2002'

23:36

23:39

ABU MAZEN (translation)

Things went over the top. Personally I was against using firearms and shooting from residential areas against civilians – practises which led to anarchy. Mistakes were made.

RECONSTRUCTION: OPPOSITION LEADERS DISCUSSING

CAPTION SUPERED:

'RECONSTRUCTION'

23:55

23:56

COMM

Arafat responded to the meetings and the criticism. He seems to have regarded them as a conspiracy against him.

RECONSTRUCTION: YOUTH SPRAYING GRAFFITI

24:05

COMM

Young men sprayed graffiti - a traditional form of political expression here condemning traitors who were selling their souls to America and Israel

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**RECONSTRUCTION: ARAFAT
LOYALISTS SHOOT UP NABIL AMR'S
HOUSE**

24:18

COMM

One night Arafat loyalists from the Al Aqsa Martyr's Brigades went to Nabil Amr's house and delivered a stronger message.

WS NABIL AMR'S HOUSE

24:30

24:33

COMM

Nobody was hurt. But everyone knew what the bullets meant. Arafat was not prepared to listen to his critics – let alone share power with them.

CU BROKEN TILE ON ROOF

24:39

CU BULLET HOLE IN WALL

CU 2ND BULLET MARK

24:40

24:42

24:45

JEREMY BOWEN V/O

After these meetings that Abu Mazen had, people have suggested that Arafat may have seen - seen it as a conspiracy against him.

MS ALI JARBAWI, I/V SYNC

24:47

ALI JARBAWI

Well internally they – we have so many difficulties. We don't have a – an elaborate political system. We're talking about personalities basically and the clash of personalities, and in doing so you have to understand what's going on and how people manoeuvre in – in political life. So yes, there were manoeuvres by many.

**ARCHIVE: ABU MAZEN IN STREET
SURROUNDED BY BODYGUARDS &
PRESS**

25:12

**ARCHIVE: ABU MAZEN SWORN IN AS
PRIME MINISTER**

25:17

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25:18

COMM

But Arafat

couldn't resist huge external pressures.

Last May he appointed Abu Mazen as

Palestinian prime minister

ARCHIVE: SLO-MO MS ABU MAZEN

LOOKING THOUGHTFUL

25:26

MUSIC

EXT. EVE: GVS GAZA CITY

25:28

GVS ABU MAZEN ARMED CONVOY

LEAVING HQ

25:38

COMM

In Gaza, there was an early test of the new prime minister's authority. Abu Mazen – moving around in heavily protected convoys – was determined to start building the institutions of a state in waiting, which he believed Arafat had neglected.

L/A WS PALESTINIAN FLAG ON POLE

25:58

26:00

JEREMY BOWEN V/O

This is Abu Mazen's headquarters in Gaza.

WS BOWEN TO CAMERA, OUTSIDE

CIVIL SERVICE BUILDING

26:02

JEREMY BOWEN

One of his first targets for reform was Mohammed Abu Sharia, the head of the Civil Service. This is Mr Abu Sharia's headquarters, the building next door.

L/A WS CIVIL SERVICE BUILDING

WS ARAFAT POSTER ON WALL

26:13

26:17

JEREMY BOWEN V/O

But when Abu Mazen decided to replace him with his own man, he found out that Mr Abu Sharia had some very powerful friends.

ARCHIVE: ARMED MEN OUTSIDE CIVIL

SERVICE BUILDING

CAPTION SUPERED:

'29 AUG 2003'

26:22

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**GVs GUNMEN ON BUILDING & MAN
LED FROM BUILDING**

26:24

26:25

COMM

Once again,
gunmen from the Al Aqsa martyrs
brigades intervened. Abu Mazen had
American backing. It meant nothing in
Gaza.

CU GUN IN HANDS

26:34

SPOKESMAN (translation)

We are here to carry out a
decision taken by Yasser Arafat

MS SPOKESMAN

26:36

26:37

He is our leader

CU GUNS IN HANDS

26:39

Any attempt to challenge his
decision will be met with bullets

**ARCHIVE: ARMED MEN INVADING THE
OFFICE & CLEARING STREET OUTSIDE
(AL JAZEERA)**

26:43

26:44

COMM

Replacing the head of civil service was
considered crucial. The incumbent was
accused of corruption, of abusing his
post, which controlled official jobs. But
for Arafat this was not about reform – it
was about power.

**MS MAN LEADING PRO-ARAFAT
DEMONSTRATION**

27:05

27:06

CHANTING (subtitles)

Do you want any leader
other than Arafat?

27:09

No

**MS BOWEN OUTSIDE CIVIL SERVICE
BUILDING, TO CAMERA**

27:11

JEREMY BOWEN

There was a clear lesson in all this for

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**Abu Mazen. His writ as Prime Minister
didn't even run to the building next door.**

**ARCHIVE: ARMED MEN IN CIVIL
SERVICE BUILDING CHATTING**

27:20

**FRAMED PHOTO OF ARAFAT & SARRAJ
ON WALL**

27:23

27:24

EYAD SARRAJ V/O

Er, Arafat is – is er, a man that is -

MS EYAD SARRAJ, I/V SYNC

27:27

EYAD SARRAJ

- almost self centred. I mean, he – he
doesn't like anybody challenging him.

**STILL: PAN FROM ARAFAT LOOKING
SUSPICIOUS TO ABU MAZEN WITH
HAND TO CHIN**

27:31

EYAD SARRAJ V/O

He can work with people, people can
work with him, but not challenging him.

MS EYAD SARRAJ, I/V SYNC

27:36

EYAD SARRAJ

And I think this is basic er, er,
understanding of Arafat.

STILL: ABU MAZEN & PRESIDENT BUSH

**STILL: ABU MASEN WITH PRESIDENT
BUSH & ARIEL SHARON**

27:40

27:44

EYAD SARRAJ V/O

I think, Abu Mazen could not handle
Arafat properly.
He was taking the show for himself. That
was too much for Arafat to bear.

**ARCHIVE: MS ARAFAT SPEAKING AT
MICROPHONE**

27:49

27:51

EYAD SARRAJ V/O

Arafat is full of mistakes, but he's still the
father of the nation.

**EXT. DAY: SLO-MO WS ZAKARIA &
LIEUTENANTS WALK TOWARD
CAMERA**

27:57

MUSIC

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MS GUN IN HAND

28:00

28:03

COMM

Arafat's loyal Al Aqsa brigades were also a target of the new Government. Abu Mazen thought he'd found a way to influence them.

**WS HAMAYEL & BODYGUARDS
LEAVING BUILDING**

**TRACK WITH HAMAYEL &
BODYGUARDS TOWARD CAR**

MS BONNET OF CAR AS IT DRIVES OFF

28:08

28:09

28:13

28:23

COMM

Abdel Fattah Hamayel, one of his ministers, implemented the policy. The idea was to offer the gunmen a small salary which Abu Mazen hoped might even stop the suicide bombs. Hamayel felt for them. As a young man he too was a gunman – and spent twenty years in Israeli jails.

MS HAMAYEL, I/V SYNC

CAPTION SUPERED:

'ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL

Former Minister of Sports and Youth
Palestinian Authority'

28:29

28:30

28:33

ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL

(translation)

Originally, some people in these groups had been chosen to work for the security services.

**EXT. DAY: BCU GUN IN BODYGUARD'S
HANDS, PAN TO FACE**

CU GUN PART BEING CLEANED

28:37

28:41

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ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL V/O

(translation)

So they were getting salaries, and still are doing so.

MS HAMAYEL, I/V SYNC

28:46

28:47

ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL

(translation)

Others weren't getting anything.

INT. DAY: GV's MAN HOLDING BABY

28:51

28:56

A lot of them have families to support – they have wives, children and homes.

MS HAMAYEL, I/V SYNC

29:05

ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL

(translation)

So a decision was taken to cover their living expenses, just as other groups are supported by the Palestinian Authority.

**INT. DAY: CU MAN FEEDING BABY,
PAN TO GUN ON HIP**

WS MAN PUTS BABY IN COT

29:13

29:15

29:17

29:20

ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL V/O

(translation)

We're not talking about a large number of people.

ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL V/O

(translation)

There are not more than 450 in the Brigades.

MS HAMAYEL, I/V SYNC

29:25

29:26

ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL

(translation)

So the payments amount to – at most – between \$40,000 and \$50,000 a month.

MS SHELVES & ARAFAT POSTER

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29:34

JEREMY BOWEN

These payments you have been making -
does Yasser Arafat know about them and
does he approve of them?

MS HAMAYEL, I/V SYNC

29:40

29:41

ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL

(translation)

This was a matter for the cabinet and the
prime minister. Certainly Arafat knew,
but he didn't take the decision.

**ARCHIVE: SLO-MO AFTERMATH OF AL
AQSA SUICIDE BOMBING 2-3-02 ex BBC**

701

29:49

MUSIC

29:53

COMM

Hamayel insists the money is to
encourage the Al Aqsa brigades to keep
the peace - not to reward them for the
suicide attacks they had already carried
out.

MS HAMAYEL, I/V SYNC

30:05

30:08

ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL

(translation)

The Palestinian Authority has repeatedly
emphasized its view on this. We are
against these types of operations because
they run counter to the moral and
religious principles of the Palestinian
people as a whole.

CU GUN COCKED

30:22

30:27

ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL V/O

(translation)

Neither Mr Arafat for Fatah have ever
supplied money to these groups so that -

MS HAMAYEL, I/V SYNC

30:31

ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL

(translation)

- they can acquire weapons.

CU MAGAZINE PUT INTO GUN

30:36

30:37

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JEREMY BOWEN V/O

How do you know that the money you give them is not used for military operations?

**WS ZAKARIA & LIEUTENANTS
CLEANING GUNS**

30:44

ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL V/O

(translation)

The amount sent to them is very small. At most it's not more than £150 per person.

MS HAMAYEL, I/V SYNC

30:49

30:53

ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL

(translation)

How can anyone buy weapons with this amount of money? £150 doesn't even meet a family's basic needs.

**EXT. DAY: WS ZAKARIA WALKS UP
STAIRS, BOWEN FOLLOWS**

31:02

**WS ZAKARIA & BOWEN COME UP
STAIRS INTO RUINED HOUSE**

WS CLOTHES ON LINE

31:05

31:12

31:21

COMM

In Jenin, Zakaria Zubaidi says they took the money without agreeing to anything – because they only listen to Arafat.

So – no

formal ceasefire though there have been no suicide attacks by the brigades since May. We were in the ruins of his home, where his mother was killed by the Israelis last year – when Zubaidi says he turned to violence.

**MS ZACHARIA, GUN ON HIP, PAN R TO
BOWEN**

31:26

JEREMY BOWEN

So, do you believe then that suicide operations, suicide bombs against Israeli civilians ought to continue. There should be more of them?

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BCU ZAKARIA, I/V SYNC
CAPTION SUPERED:
'ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI
Leader, Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades
Jenin Refugee Camp'

31:35

31:37

ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)
Of course. Martyrdom operations inside
Israel are not the strategy of the
Palestinian people.

LS ZAKARIA & BOWEN IN RUINED
HOUSE

BCU ZAKARIA

31:43

31:44

31:47

ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)
They're of no use to us politically.
But they do have some advantage for our
people, who are being killed every day.
They want retaliation, revenge for the
massacres committed by Israel. This is
why we have martyrdom operations.

BCU BOWEN

32:00

JEREMY BOWEN

So if Arafat said stop these attacks, would
the Al-Aqsa Brigades stop?

32:06

32:07

ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)
Of course. But he won't order us to do
this until Israel stops the assassinations.

PAN R TO BOWEN

31:21

JEREMY BOWEN

But do you continue with them because
he says continue with them?

PAN BACK L TO ZAKARIA

32:25

ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)

We pay close attention to what he says.
When Arafat calls for a ceasefire, we will
respect his decision and stop.

ARCHIVE: SLO-MO MS ARAFAT
HOLDING ZAKARIA'S ARM ALOFT,
FREEZE FRAME

32:33

COMM

Arafat's influence over the Al Aqsa
Brigades wasn't threatened by the new
Prime Minister.

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**EXT. DAY: MS PALESTINIAN POLICE
TRAINING WITH RIOT SHIELDS &
BATONS**

32:40

32:43

COMM

**Nor was his control over the mainstream
Palestinian security forces.**

MS OFFICER SHOUTING ORDER

**WS POLICE MARCHING TOWARD
CAMERA**

32:50

32:52

32:55

COMM

**Abu Mazen wanted them. One reason
why he resigned was his
failure to get them**

MCU LEGS MARCH PAST R-L

32:58

LS POLICE DRILLING ON SQUARE

**MS PAN OVER RUBBLE OF SHATTERED
BUILDING**

WS WELDER AT WORK

LS POLICE DRILLING

33:00

33:03

33:10

33:13

COMM

**The Israelis have destroyed most of the
security forces' infrastructure –
but Israel and the United States insist that
Arafat's men could still crack down on
Hamas
and the other Islamic extremists, if Arafat
issued
the orders.**

WS STREET

MS BOWEN GETS INTO TAXI

33:17

33:20

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COMM

Some of his security chiefs say they don't have the firepower – even if they wanted to do it.

MS BOWEN IN TAXI, TO CAMERA

33:23

33:28

JEREMY BOWEN

Anyway, for Palestinians it's not a military issue – it's a question of what's possible politically.

TRACKING SHOT OF STREET THRU WINDSCREEN

33:34

JEREMY BOWEN V/O

This is the beach refugee camp in Gaza. But go down any street here or in the West Bank and you'll find out why.

MONTAGE OF SHOTS OF POSTERS CELEBRATING MARTYRS

33:42

MUSIC

MS BOWEN'S FOOT STEPS OUT OF TAXI

33:44

33:50

COMM

Look at these posters in Beach Camp, celebrating suicide attacks, or martyrdom operations as they're known here.

WS BOWEN APPROACHES POSTER

L/A O/S MS POSTER

MS 2ND POSTER

MS 3RD POSTER

CU 4TH POSTER

33:54

33:55

33:56

34:00

34:04

34:07

COMM

Seven years ago, in 1996, there was a series of suicide

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bombings but then
most Palestinians disapproved of them.
With public
support, Arafat ordered his troops into
action
against them.

STILL: BLINDFOLD SUSPECT IN VAN

**STILL: PRISONER BEHIND BARBED
WIRE**

34:10

34:11

34:15

COMM

The crackdown was led by Jibril Rajoub –
a veteran of 18 years in
Israeli jails and still one of Arafat's main
security advisers.

MS JIBRIL RAJOUB, I/V SYNC

CAPTION SUPERED:

'JIBRIL RAJOUB

**National Security Advisor
to President Arafat'**

34:20

34:21

JIBRIL RAJOUB

In '96, first of all, we had an Israeli
partner. We had a labour government,
who were dealing with us on equal foot as
a partner.

**EXT. DAY: MS ARMED POLICE
CHECKING DRIVER'S PAPERS**

MS POLICE VAN

34:33

34:40

JIBRIL RAJOUB V/O

- And it was the responsibility of both of
us to assure security for both of our
peoples. Then
the Palestinian people had a hope in their
future,

MCU DRIVER ON RADIO

34:44

34:46

JIBRIL RAJOUB V/O

The substance of the problem is not in
Hamas.

MS JIBRIL RAJOUB, I/V SYNC

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34:49

JIBRIL RAJOUB

This - that does not mean that I'm
defending what Hamas is doing. I think
that the er, er, substance of this problem -

**EXT. EVE: WS PEOPLE QUEUING TO
PASS THRU ISRAELI CHECKPOINT**

34:59

JIBRIL RAJOUB V/O

- the heart of the problem is the Israeli
occupation.

MS GUARD CHECKING PAPERS

35:03

MUSIC

**CU ARAB SILHOUETTED AGAINST
SUNSET**

35:06

**PANORAMIC SHOT OF SUNRISE OVER
MOUNTAINS**

35:10

WS SUNRISE

35:14

**H/A PANORAMIC SHOT OF HEBRON,
PAN R**

35:19

35:20

COMM

Nowhere is the occupation sharper than in
Hebron, a Hamas stronghold on the West
Bank with a Jewish settlement right at its
heart - where Palestinians believe the
violence starts with Israel not with Arafat.

**MS BOWEN WALKS TO GATE TO
HEBRON**

LS BOWEN OPENING GATE

WS BOWEN

35:33

35:37

35:50

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35:59

JEREMY BOWEN

If you're not a Jewish settler or an Israeli soldier, this is the only officially sanctioned way into Hebron. There's a heavy steel gate here. There's also a strong Israeli army position which they won't let us film.

It's a quiet crossing – because even though there are around 120,000 Palestinians living in Hebron, most of them are never let out.

**GVs RUBBLE OF DESTROYED
BUILDING BEING CLEARED, WOMAN
PICKING UP BITS & PIECES**

36:02

GVs TENTS AMID RUBBLE

36:08

36:27

COMM

This was a block of flats which was home to fifteen families. Two Hamas gunmen were killed in it, by Israeli soldiers. The Israelis say that if Arafat won't hit them, they will. But then they also hit the civilians here by clearing them out and blowing up their homes – a collective punishment of people whose only crime was to live in a place which Hamas gunmen used as a shelter in the middle of the night

**WS RATEB ZAITON, I/V SYNC
CAPTION SUPERED:
'DR RATEB ZAITON'**

36:34

RATEB ZAITON

We are the refugees of 2003, not 1948.

WS MEN SEARCHING IN RUBBLE

36:38

RATEB ZAITON V/O

Imagine somebody destroyed your house in front of your eyes. What kind of feeling you'll have?

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**WS PAN R ACROSS SITE OF
DESTROYED FLATS**

36:44

36:45

COMM

About a hundred yards away, another building was hit by a stray tank shell. Human rights groups have criticised Israel for using tanks in built-up areas.

**INT. DAY: MS BOWEN CLIMBS STAIRS,
TO CAMERA, TRACK WITH HIM TO
BATTERED GATE**

**TRACK IN TO CU PICTURE OF FAHAIR
ON WALL**

36:56

JEREMY BOWEN

Like many other buildings in Hebron, this one had been raided by the Israelis before. This is what happened on one of the previous visits, when they smashed open the door of this flat. Next door until that Tuesday lived Fahair Mansour, ten years old.

**PAN L AS BOWEN WALKS ACROSS
ROOM AWAY FROM CAMERA**

**MS SHELL FRAGMENTS, GLASS ETC ON
KITCHEN WORKTOP**

37:16

37:17

37:22

COMM

His blood was still on the floor of the kitchen where his mother found him, killed by a shell fragment as he ate his breakfast.

**MS WAFA SYOURY, I/V SYNC
CAPTION SUPERED:
'WAFA SYOURY'**

37:25

37:26

WAFA SYOURY (translation)

They call us terrorists! That Yasser Arafat is a terrorist. And what are they? They were born terrorists. Everything they do is terror. The day I lost -

**STILL: FAHAIR & BROTHER, Z/I ON
FAHAIR**

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37:33

Wafa Syoury V/O (translation)

- my son I prayed that they'd lose ten of theirs.

GVs PEOPLE LOOKING AT RUBBLE OF DESTROYED FLATS

37:38

37:40

COMM

Opinion polls this year say 60 per cent of Palestinians support suicide attacks. In 1997, only 24 per cent did.

Dr Ratab Zaiton

37:50

JEREMY BOWEN V/O

And if there's a suicide bombing –

CU RATEB ZAITON, I/V SYNC

37:51

JEREMY BOWEN

- because of what's been happening in Hebron what would your feelings be?

BCU BOWEN LISTENING

37:55

37:58

RATEB ZAITON

At this moment. At this moment nobody can even condemn.

These people they know their duty towards their nation.

GVs MEN SEARCHING RUBBLE

38:02

RATEB ZAITON V/O

They know their duty towards their country. This is occupied land.

CU RATEB ZAITON, I/V SYNC

38:07

RATEB ZAITON

They are resisting the military action and the occupation itself.

EXT. DAY: L/A WS AL QUDS HOSPITAL

38:11

MUSIC

WS BOWEN WALKS UP STEPS INTO HOSPITAL

INT. DAY: GVs PEOPLE VISITING WOUNDED POLICEMAN IN HOSPITAL

**WS BOWEN ENTERS WARD
WS BOWEN WALKS TO BEDSIDE,
SHAKES HANDS**

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38:15

38:23

38:30

38:34

COMM

What if Arafat did as the Israelis want, and turned his forces on Hamas and Islamic Jihad? While I was in Gaza, the answer became very clear. I went to visit one of Arafat's Palestinian policemen in hospital who was taken hostage by Hamas after Arafat's security service had arrested some of their activists.

MS MOHAMMED, I/V SYNC

CAPTION SUPERED:

'MOHAMMED EL SHEIKH'

38:38

38:39

38:41

MOHAMMED (translation)

I was grabbed by six people. I was pulled into a bus.

STILL: CU MOHAMMED SHOWING INJURIES TO HEAD

38:49

38:50

MOHAMMED V/O (translation)

Then they hit me on the head with a gun.

MS MOHAMMED, I/V SYNC

38:54

38:56

MOHAMMED (translation)

They handcuffed me. They placed a bag over my head.

STILL: MOHAMMED'S TORSO SHOWING INJURIES

39:04

39:05

MOHAMMED V/O (translation)

They beat me on my shoulders, kidneys, stomach and genitals.

MS MOHAMMED, I/V SYNC

39:10

They wanted to exchange me for one of

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their members who was arrested
yesterday by the Preventive Security
Force

**STILL: CU INJURIES TO MOHAMMED'S
ARM**

39:14

JEREMY BOWEN V/O

Why do you think they did this?

MS MOHAMMED, I/V SYNC

39:18

MOHAMMED (translation)

They wanted to exchange me for one of
their members who was arrested
yesterday by the Preventive Security
Force.

**EXT. DAY: PAN R ACROSS ROAD
JUNCTION**

39:25

MUSIC

39:26

COMM

Hamas put their people on to the streets,
burning tyres and surrounding police
stations. Shots were fired.

CU BURNT-OUT TYRE

**INT. DAY: WS MOHAMMED IN
HOSPITAL BED
CU GUN IN GUARD'S HAND**

39:34

39:35

39:37

39:40

COMM

In a hastily arranged truce,
Arafat's police got their man back – but
only
by releasing their Hamas prisoners.

**WS BOWEN WALKS DOWN STEPS
AWAY FROM HOSPITAL, TO CAMERA**

39:43

39:45

JEREMY BOWEN

All this demonstrates two fundamental
facts about Palestinian politics as they are
at the moment. First of all – Hamas is
very popular. Second – look what
happens when the PA tries to arrest even
a handful of Hamas activists. It makes
their worries about a Palestinian civil war
look pretty credible.

**ARCHIVE: CU ARAFAT GIVES
PEACE/VICTORY SIGN**

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40:08

JEREMY BOWEN V/O

The Israelis have said repeatedly that what Arafat didn't do was to take action -

MS EYAD SARRAJ, I/V SYNC

40:15

JEREMY BOWEN

- against Islamic extremist groups. Is that a credible course of action for any Palestinian leader?

40:21

EYAD SARRAJ

Of course not. This is laughable.

WS STREET & POSTER OF MARTYR

DETAIL OF POSTER: BLOWN UP VEHICLES

2ND DETAIL: FACE OF MARTYR

40:24

40:29

40:33

EYAD SARRAJ V/O

It is a sign of despair militarily that they have to opt for these very violent, very terrorist acts against children and women. But no Palestinian leader, Arafat included -

MS EYAD SARRAJ, I/V SYNC

CAPTION SUPERED:

'EYAD SARRAJ

Palestinian Independent Commission for Citizens' Rights'

40:37

40:38

EYAD SARRAJ

- can destroy Hamas if there is no Israeli acts on the ground that give the Palestinians the hope of having a Palestinian state in place.

MS JIBRIL RAJOUB, I/V SYNC

40:51

JIBRIL RAJOUB

As long as the Israelis are occupying our lands, killing our people, having the - the - the assassination policy as part of their - of the way that they are dealing with the Palestinian people, no one can do anything.

EXT. DAY: GVs PRO-ARAFAT RALLY, PEOPLE MARCHING WITH BANNERS & CHANTING ETC

41:07

41:12

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COMM

But the occupation is not ending – it's deepening. And the Israeli government has repeated its threat to send Yasser Arafat into exile.

41:28

JEREMY BOWEN V/O

So what do you do then if you do get rid of Arafat in some way?

MS EHUD OLMERT, I/V SYNC

41:32

JEREMY BOWEN

Who do you deal with then?

MS EHUD OLMERT, I/V SYNC

CAPTION SUPERED:

'EHUD OLMERT

Israel's Deputy Prime Minister'

41:33

EHUD OLMERT

Look. First of all we do not dictate who government of the Palestinians will be.

41:38

JEREMY BOWEN

You're isolating their leader, their elected leader.

41:41

EHUD OLMERT

The whole er, international community -

EXT. DAY: US FLAG BEING BURNT BY DEMONSTRATORS

41:43

EHUD OLMERT V/O

- at least the most important and influential factor, the United States of America, says Arafat is not in the game. So -

MS EHUD OLMERT, I/V SYNC

41:52

EHUD OLMERT

- don't tell me that we are ignoring their leader. We are ignoring a terrorist killer. And we're doing the right thing.

ARCHIVE: ARAFAT AT CONFERENCE TABLE, Z/O TO LS

42:01

JEREMY BOWEN V/O

And if the Palestinians say, 'look, he's our leader. If we're gonna make a deal with Israel we need our leader to sign it.' Then what happens?

MS EHUD OLMERT, I/V SYNC

42:09

EHUD OLMERT

As long as the leader will be a terrorist murderer there will not be peace. That's

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as simple as that.

**EXT. DAY: CU MAN CARRYING
ARAFAT PORTRAIT AT PRO-ARAFAT
RALLY**

42:16

**GVs PRO-ARAFAT POSTERS &
PALESTINIAN FLAGS ON DAMAGED
BUILDINGS**

**WS BOWEN BY WALL COVERED WITH
POSTERS**

42:20

42:22

42:34

COMM

The Israelis will only shift Yasser Arafat by killing him or deporting him. It would give them some temporary satisfaction. But it won't provide their people with the safety and security that they deserve. It could make matters much worse.

TO CAMERA

42:38

JEREMY BOWEN

While I've been here I've talked to lots of Palestinians. Quite a few of them had their doubts about some of the things that Yasser Arafat has done. But all of them from the most critical to ultra-loyalists were agreed on one thing: that Israel and America's isolation of Yasser Arafat has made him as popular with his own people as he's ever been. He may well be part of the problem, as the Israelis and the Americans say. But it's certain that he's still part of the solution as well.

**CU ARAFAT PORTRAIT & PALESTINIAN
FLAGS**

43:14

43:15

MUSIC

JEREMY BOWEN V/O

- just as he's always been

43:19

EYAD SARRAJ V/O

I believe that -

MS EYAD SARRAJ, I/V SYNC

43:21

EYAD SARRAJ

- there is not a single Palestinian that

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would sign a peace treaty but Arafat. As long as he's alive. No Palestinian dare – dares to – to – to challenge Arafat's authority in that sense.

MS ARAFAT POSTER

SLO-MO WS CHILD HOLDING ARAFAT PORTRAIT IN RALLY

43:37

43:39

43:42

JIBRIL RAJOUB V/O

They can deport Yasser Arafat, they can kill Yasser Arafat even. But -

MS JIBRIAL RAJOUB, I/V SYNC

43:46

JIBRIL RAJOUB

- the reaction would be catastrophic to the Israelis and to the Jews forever.

ARCHIVE: CU ARAFAT EMBRACED BY SUCCESSION OF PALESTINIANS

43:54

44:01

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FREEZE FRAME & FADE TO BLACK

44:09

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44:21

**MOONSTONE
FILMS
for
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**44:24
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